SEVEN CENTURIES ILLUSTRATED

in the

Congregational Library

Z733
.A512S4

10.25.21.

LIBRARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PRINCETON, N. J.

PRESENTED BY

The Congregational Library.

Division Z733

Section .A512S4

Seven Centuries Illustrated

in the

Congregational Library

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
OCT 25 1921
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Seven Centuries Illustrated *in the* Congregational Library

American Congregational Association

Boston, Massachusetts

1921

THOMAS TODD COMPANY
Printers
BOSTON · MASSACHUSETTS

PREFACE

THIS little book is not a descriptive catalogue, but an account of a few samples; designed not to bring anything new before librarians and other specialists, but to interest men of ordinary attainments. In a certain sense it is appropriate to the tercentenary of the Pilgrims; for although it goes back three centuries before the Landing, and comes forward to our own century, still it will be easy to show that each point illustrated has an important bearing on the great movement of 1620.

The Congregational Library, represented by these specimens, is a department of the American Congregational Association, and is contained in the Congregational House, situated at Number 14 Beacon Street, Boston. It was founded in May, 1853, "for the purpose of establishing and perpetuating a library of the religious history and literature of New England," as its charter says, but for many years it had no funds to draw upon; and since it had to rely on the gifts of friends, it came to include various classes of books not strictly germane to its specific object. Some of these secondary lines of growth are still kept up, but of late we have been able to follow more closely the aim of the charter. We are ever grateful for the coöperation of those who help in bringing the Library's achievement nearer to the worthy purpose of its founders, and it is our constant desire to make the Library not only better known, but more useful to all whom it can reach.

WILLIAM H. COBB.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

OUR first example carries us beyond the age of printing —at least as known to the Western world. Each piece of literature that has come down from the past was *manu-scripta,* being wrought with slow painstaking by the human hand. It was a pious task, in the view of monastic calligraphers, to hand down the Word of God with utmost accuracy and beauty of form. Almost equally reverenced were the standard commentaries or homilies (postils) of medieval as well as early authorities. The art of illumination—mother of intricate patterns and graceful variety of forms and colors—was applied especially to the initials of the Gospels, of the Psalms, and of the prominent chapters in composite works.

Lovers of Longfellow will recall the soliloquy of Friar Pacificus in a chapter of The Golden Legend entitled "The Scriptorium":

> There, now, is an initial letter!
> Saint Ulric himself never made a better!
> Finished down to the leaf and the snail,
> Down to the eyes on the peacock's tail!
> And now, as I turn the volume over,
> And see what lies between cover and cover,
> What treasures of art these pages hold,
> All ablaze with crimson and gold,
> God forgive me! I seem to feel
> A certain satisfaction steal
> Into my heart, and into my brain,
> As if my talent had not lain
> Wrapped in a napkin, and all in vain.
> Yes, I might almost say to the Lord,
> Here is a copy of thy Word,
> Written out with much toil and pain;
> Take it, O Lord, and let it be
> As something I have done for thee!

Sapientialis

Quatuor sūt mīma ⁊ ire ipā sūt sapiēciora sa piētibz. prou. 30.

Septē eplē que tanq̄ ⁊ regulales nū cupant edite sūt a quatuor aplis Jacobo petro Johe et Judi et ⁊ vno libro collocant. ideo de eis auctoribz inſtituit tr̄. Nam auctor principalis est spūs scūs. p̄t quelibet dia ⁊ bū p̄ositū. Quatuor sūt mīma ire ⁊ In quo ira istos aplos tā notat mūdanis typus quatuor sunt. humilia onib⁹ actꝰ mīma tīe Quoniēplorē excessus et ipā sunt sapiēciora sapientibꝰ. Circa p̄mū sciendū q̄ ⁊ tūꝰ ē p̄ma nūs quadratꝰ. q̄ consurgit ex ductu p̄mi nu. sc̄z binarij in se ipm̄. bis duo em̄ quatuor sunt Q̄ drātia vō p̄fectē virtutē figurat vñ p̄hus primo ethicoꝝ. vnusq̄ vō ꝯ quadratꝰ q̄ virtꝰ vē bonꝰ et quadratꝰ sine vitupio. Nam sicut corpꝰ quadratū ut quolibz late optē sedet ita ⁊ mosus ⁊ quolibz tāu et forma bñ se habet Isti vō quatuor apli fuerūt virtutē p̄fecti. p̄t q̄ in multis q̄ntatibz sunt figurati. Isti em̄ sunt quatuor fluuij paradisi aq̄ sapiēciae irrigates. gen 2o. Quor aurei tanti in archa testamenti

Quatuor vermi reli. mortuos viuificātes ezechielis 37. Quatuor viri in forma te tribulacois illesi pmanētes dāi 3o vbi dicit q̄ species vnius erat ei⁹ speciei filij dei. q̄ Jacobꝰ filio dei ihū xp̄o in forma ⁊ figura cor̄t fuisse dicit similis. Vnj sūt quatuor fabri cornua pera cussa deuēcies tacti. Et alij plures quā pterna possent ad p̄positū mdūm de sacra scriptura sed isti sufficiāt. Circa sciendū sciendū q̄ humilitas ē decor et custodia oīm virtutū Gregorius Qui cetās virtutes sine humilitate congregat q̄si pulueꝛ in ventū portat. Isti vō quatuor apli sicut ex eoꝝ vita et doctrina patet fuerūt humillimi q̄ nōīa dicit minima tīe. vñ q̄libz eoꝝ potuit dicē illud. 1 cor 15o. Ego sum minimus aplorū. fuerunt em̄ a pli de nā p̄incipio q̄ sūt minima ſñ itate et maria virtute. sic isti apli p veꝛa humilitate minimi fuerūt in sui ip̄ius actione et maximi p sua predicatoē ⁊ fidelium multiplicatoē ꝑm. q̄ psa xl. minimus erit ⁊ mille et paruulus ⁊ gētē fortissimā. Circa ꝑm resplendendū q̄ sicut dicit. p̄mo. xj. vbi humilitas ibi actū humilitatē nōīa expressius cōtemplo nis dicit. Et ipā sunt sapiēcio ra sapiētibus. Sapiēciores aūt hi⁹ mū di reputati sunt pl̄i qui tñ ad veritatē sapientiā q̄ xp̄s est non attigerūt fm q̄ dicit Jeronimus in epla ad pau linū de oīb⁹ sacre scripture libris. hi⁹ docti plato nesciunt. hi⁹ demosthenes eloquēs ignorauit. Isti aūt apli hāt sapientiā attigerūt ac sapiēciores sapientibus fuerūt de quo p̄t expōi id qd dicit. 1. cor. 1o. Qd stultū ē dei sapiētius est hominibus. dei aūt fuerūt ⁊ sūt isti apli tāq̄m mēbra principalia corpis eius mistica. Et licet stulti ac stolidi fuerūt a mūdi sapientibus reputati tñ fuerūt sapientissimi. Sapiā em̄ p̄hoꝝ fuit deorsum p̄cedēs a gē ratione istoꝝ sensibiliū et corruptibiliū et ducēs in odōrē tetrū. p̄t qd dicit circa alias vel dya ca

Quartus in ignis quis

humilitas omnē virtu

Jacobus p & Judas

minimi et

vbi humili

sapienti

sapiē

sapientiores

Supientia p

Quosum ⁊ adiatū

Virtuosus in quolibet casu & fortuna

Even after the invention of printing, the printed pages were often embellished by handwork of this character. Thus, the Congregational Library possesses, by the gift of S. Brainerd Pratt, a magnificent copy of a Chained Bible, in four great folios, printed at Strassburg about 1480, and abounding in beautifully colored initials.

The specimen we have chosen to illustrate the fourteenth century is from a manuscript that belonged to the well-known Syriac scholar, Professor Isaac H. Hall, of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It consists, in part, of the Acts, the Epistles (including Laodiceans), and the Revelation, in the Latin Vulgate; but the larger part of the book is filled with the postils of Nicholas d'Lyra. This homilist died at Paris in 1340. His extensive and often curious comments were so popular with the early Reformers as to have occasioned the well-known saying, "If Lyra had not played his lyre, Luther would not have danced."

Si Lyra non lyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset.

The manuscript page here reproduced in facsimile shows the form, though not the coloring, of one of the initials referred to. It is the beginning of a homily on the short epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, whom Lyra compares with Agur's four little creatures, with Ezekiel's four winds, etc. Such odd conceits strike us strangely, but were both familiar and welcome to some of our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers. The difficulty of reading this manuscript is enhanced by numerous contractions, the most frequent case being the omission of the letter *n*. The reader may like to exercise his ingenuity in deciphering them. We give a few sentences, filling out the contractions and adding a translation:

"Quatuor sunt minima terræ, et ipsa sunt sapientiora sapientibus, Prov. 30.

Septem epistolæ quæ canonicæ irregulares nuncupantur editæ sunt a quatuor apostolis, Jacobo, Petro, Johanne et Juda, et in uno libro col-

locantur. . . . Isti vero quatuor apti fuerunt virtute perfecti, propter quod in multis quadratis sunt figurati. Isti enim sunt quatuor fluvii Paradisi . . . quatuor auri circli in archa testamenti, quatuor venti cœli mortuos vivificantes, Ezechielis 37, quatuor viri in fornace tribulationis illæsi permanentes, Dan. 3, ubi dicitur quod species unius (id est, quarti) species filii Dei. Qr (?) Jacobus filio Dei Jesu Christo in forma et figura corporis fuisse dicitur simillimus. Alii sunt quatuor fabri cornua venatorum dejicientes, Zach. 1. Et alii plures quaternarii possent ad propositum induci de Sacra Scriptura, sed isti sufficiant."

"There are four least things on earth, and yet these are wiser than the wise, Prov. 30.

The seven epistles which are regarded as irregularly canonical were put forth by four apostles, James, Peter, John and Jude, and are collected in one book. . . . Now these four fit men were perfect in virtue and hence have been typified in many groups of four. For these are the four rivers of Paradise . . . the four rings of gold in the ark of the covenant, the four winds of heaven giving life to the dead (Ezech. 37), the four men abiding unharmed in the furnace of tribulation, Dan. 3, where it is said that the form of one (*i.e.*, of the fourth) was the form of the Son of God. For James is said to have borne a close resemblance, in bodily form and figure, to the Son of God, Jesus Christ. Again, there are the four carpenters casting down the horns of the hunters (Zech. 1). And from Holy Scripture many other fourfoldnesses might be brought in to the argument, but these may suffice."

To this last statement we all say Amen! However, one may well tolerate the grotesque twist given to the passage from Daniel, since it embalms the tradition that the epistle of James was the work of our Lord's brother, apparently his next younger brother. For if it had been believed that the four in Matt. 13: 55 were cousins of Jesus, or sons of Joseph by a former wife, there would have been little ground for the *simillimus*. And yet our homilist does not draw this inference, for on the next page of the manuscript we read: "In the first place, the person saluting is described by name, since he is called *James*. This one is James the less, brother of the apostle Jude and son of Alphæus."

Thus orthodoxy prevails over consistency.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BESIDES these quaint homilies, another class of books, prominent in the studies of our fathers, comprised such works as touch the devotional side of theology. We have had photographed here the last page of one of the Congregational Library's *Incunabula*—a term applied to the earliest monuments of an art, and especially to books printed not later than A. D. 1500. Before the close of the fifteenth century, the art of printing had spread rapidly over Europe, and many presses, in nearly all its chief cities, were issuing successive editions of classic authors, of the Scriptures, of the Christian Fathers, and of many other works. The new art found its way even to small towns, like Delft, whence the Pilgrims set sail, and whence issued a Dutch Psalter in 1487 (Die duytsche Souter. Gheprindt te Delff in hollant). Two of the most prolific cities in this regard were Venice, where the famous Aldines were printed, and Strassburg, the home of the "Chained Bible."

At the foot of our sample page, the printer's emblem reminds one, in its peculiar form, of modern trade marks, many of which are, as a matter of fact, derived from fifteenth century books. The regularity and beauty of the early type, as shown in this example, command the admiration of modern typographers. The date of our specimen, 1497, we should now express in Roman letters thus, MCDXCVII, just as MCM signifies 1900; but the ancient practice was to insert the four C's. The place of publication, Mediolanum, is the Latin form of Milan, though the language of the book is Italian; its quotations of Scripture, however, are from the Latin Vulgate. The author signs himself, "Friar John Bernard, of Saone, of the order of hermits of Saint Augustine." The title of the book,

respecti lhomo e piu ala imagine & similitudine de dio: che lo Angelo considerando: che dio figliolo e nato de dio Padre cosi lhomo nasce de homo nō Angelo de Angelo dio e tutto in ogni loco: como e dicto: cosi lanima e tutta in ogni parte del corpo Dio e trino & vno cosi lanima e trina in potentie & vna in substantia Ma hora iudico essere bene: che poniamo fine ad questi nostri sermoni. Infiniti quodammodo sono li fiori de la sapientia cōgregati mediante la infusione del spirito sancto i li numerabili libri de sancti doctori de liquali fiori dio ha ornate lanime spose sue dilectissime. Colloca pregoti nel animo tuo queste poche ricolte del superno amore Per ogni modo ponendole in effecto. Et se sono in ornate per mio defecto spero mediante le vostre oratione el charitativo mio exercitio essermi in medicina. Dicente la sacra scriptura. Universa delicta operit charitas.

FINIS.

Impressum Mediolani per Magistrū Leonardus Pacchel Anno domini. M.cccclxxxvij. die.xxij. Martij.

"Fonte di Charita" (the fount of love) introduces a discourse of a mystical nature, in the form of a dialogue between a Sister of Charity and her Confessor. Some of the chapter headings are as follows: "How from every side and by many inducements the soul is drawn to love God." "How it is impossible to love God without loving the neighbor; and on reconciliation with enemies." "Of the intoxication of spiritual love; and of death to sin and the world."

In the closing chapter, "How the inmost mysteries of the Holy Trinity have been revealed," the author brings out a comparison between men and angels, and refers in this connection to Ezek. 28: 12 (mistakenly cited as Chapter 18), which he quotes from the Vulgate, and which he understands, after Origen, to denote the guardian angel of Tyre:

"To the angel God spake through Ezekiel in chapter eighteen: 'Thou art the seal of my likeness, perfect in beauty.' And it is more to be the seal of the likeness than to be made after the likeness. Yet it happens that in certain respects" [this word *respects* (respecti) begins the page we have reproduced] "man is more after the image and likeness of God than the angel whom we are regarding. For God the Son is born of God the Father, as man is born of man, not angel of angel. God is entire in every place, as it is said. So the (human) spirit is entire in every part of the body. God is three and one. So the spirit is three in power and one in substance.

But I judge it is a suitable time for bringing these discourses of ours to an end. Numberless, so to speak, are the flowers of wisdom, gathered by the infusion of the Holy Ghost into many books of holy doctors, and with such flowers God has adorned souls—his best beloved consorts. Take to thy heart, I pray, these gleanings of celestial love. Carry them into effect whenever occasion offers. And though they be unattractive through my shortcoming, I hope that by your prayers my loving attempt may prove salutary, even as Holy Scripture saith: Love covereth all transgressions.

THE END.

Printed at Milan by Master Leonard Pacchel A. D. 1497, March 22^{d}."

About this time, the leaven of the Reformation began to ferment among the peoples of Europe. But the results in literature were hardly apparent until some decades later. Luther's theses were not posted until 1517, and the English Reformation did not spread among the common people until Tyndale published his New Testament in 1526.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

WE have reached the beginning of the period in which the Congregational Library finds the chief field for its more important accumulations. As might be expected, our resources are but slight in the matter of ancient manuscripts or of works printed before 1500. But from about the middle of the sixteenth century to the present time, we can make a respectable showing as regards the discussions on doctrine and polity in which the people now called Congregationalists have borne a part.

The break with the Church of Rome, brought about by Henry VIII, was not a thoroughgoing reformation. The State took its place as a power above the Church, though claiming to be only coördinate. Hopes of a genuine reform ran high in young Edward's reign, but a terrible reaction followed under Mary. Elizabeth was as determined as her father to be the supreme authority in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. One could scarcely credit the stories that have come down to us of the cruelties inflicted, by the rack and other tortures, upon men who dared to follow their own inward light, were it not that our own time has witnessed extremes of cruelty. The foul and pestilential prisons of Elizabeth's day swallowed up many of the noblest hearts in Britain. But the light would shine in the darkness, though the darkness comprehended it not.

The literature of the period reflects the intensity of its religious controversies. The two earliest books of this character in our library are Bishop Gardiner's "Detection of the Devils Sophistrie" [1546], which presents the High Church view of the sacrament of the altar; and the reply in 1547 by Anthony Gilby, the Puritan, "An Ansvver to the devillish detection of

A Booke

WHICH SHEWETH THE life and manners of all true Christians,

and howe vnlike they are vnto Turkes and Papistes and Heathen folke.

Also the pointes and partes of all diui nitie, that is of the reuealed will and worde of God are declared by their seuerall Definitions, *and Diuisions in order as* followeth.

ROBERT BROVVNE.

MIDDELBVRGH,

¶ *Imprinted by Richarde Painter.*

1582.

Stephane Gardiner, Bishoppe of Wynchester." Both books are extremely rare, and neither is found in the Dexter bibliography.

Passing by the "Admonition to the Parliament" (1572) and the long duel between Thomas Cartwright and Archbishop Whitgift (8 vols., 1572–1577), we note that the decade which followed (1581–1590) marks the storm center of this whole agitation. Here belong the "Briefe and Plaine Declaration" by an anonymous Separatist (1584), answered in a huge volume of 1,412 pages by Dean Bridges, of Salisbury (1587), which he called "A Defence of the Government established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters." This provoked the rollicking satirist, *Martin Marprelate,* to pounce into the arena in 1588 with two little books, "The Epistle" and "The Epitome." The author's real name remains a mystery to the present day, though all the power of the English prelacy was bent upon ferreting him out, and more than one innocent person suffered under the false accusation of having written or distributed the series of tracts which began with the two above named. Both these original issues, as well as the eleven books previously noted, and many more of that critical decade, are in the Congregational Library.

But the highest place of honor among them we assign to the works of Robert Browne, who was among the chief torchbearers that lit the way for the Pilgrims. It is only of late, however, that he has come to his due meed of honor, even among those whose principles he was the first to expound with clearness and force, so persistently have the misrepresentations of his enemies been accepted for verities. It is true that after coming out from the Church of England he returned to it, and spent his later years in its fellowship; but it is also true that the vision of a Free Church, which he saw in youth and set forth so luminously, has become the inheritance of all the Free Churches that now exist. It has happened with him, as with Oliver Cromwell, whose character, in the view of impartial

minds, was changed from minus to plus, when his own letters were published by Thomas Carlyle. Robert Browne's publications were few, and most of them were practically inaccessible until a few years ago; so the tradition that he was a crazy fanatic, best forgotten, went almost unchallenged.

The Congregational Library is fortunate in possessing a copy of his most important, though not his rarest, work. Written in 1582, when to publish such opinions in England would have exposed him to imprisonment, perhaps to death, at the hands of Elizabeth and her implacable bishops, it was printed during that year in the Netherlands, the only country in Europe which at that time enjoyed religious liberty. It is usually referred to as a treatise on church government. In truth it is that and much more, as one might gather from the title-page here reproduced. In the extracts that follow (in modern spelling) we have thought best, therefore, to give chief emphasis, not to the controversial but to the spiritual and practical side of Browne's teaching. These are surely not the words of one who has a devil and is mad, but of one who speaks forth the words of truth and soberness, one who is well called the father of modern Congregationalism; for after many experimental tendencies towards monarchical or aristocratic blends, it has returned to the simple polity, and in the main points to the simple doctrines, of Robert Browne.

Some of Browne's Definitions

Christians are a company or number of believers, who by a willing covenant made with their God are under the government of God and Christ and keep his laws in one holy communion.

God's goodness is his holiness in doing good, and increasing his blessings towards his creatures more than the goodness which is in them deserveth.

His mercy and compassion is, as it were, a troubled disliking of our miseries, as if they were his own.

The Spirit of God in us is an inward working of the Holy Ghost in our hearts, stirring and drawing us to take Christ for our Saviour, and preparing and strengthening us unto all goodness.

The kingdom of all Christians is their office of guiding and ruling with Christ, to subdue the wicked and make one another obedient to Christ. Their priesthood is their office of cleansing and redressing wickedness, whereby sin and uncleanness is taken away from amongst them. Their prophecy is their office of judging all things by the word of God, whereby they increase in knowledge and wisdom among themselves.

Every one of the church is made a king, a priest, and a prophet under Christ, to uphold and further the kingdom of God and destroy the kingdom of Antichrist and Satan.

The church meetings are the due resorting and coming together of Christians, for mutual comfort by their presence and communion of graces to further all godliness.

Godliness is the right using or continual occupying of our gifts and powers, both in soul and body, in such perfect dutifulness as is taught and commanded us by the Lord our God.

Goodness towards others is our righteousness in yielding and applying ourselves unto them to their behoof rather than to our own.

Making amends is a duty of righteousness, whereby the person who hath suffered injury is requited again as the cause deserveth. And this requiting must be secret in secret injuries and showed in a known injury.

Contentation [*i. e.*, contentment] is a conscience of our welfare by the blessing of God, whereby we like the same, and condemn our unworthiness above others.

That is the last of Browne's one hundred and eighty-five definitions, and is a good one to keep in mind.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THIS is the period we are celebrating; the time of the Pilgrim Fathers. There is a certain embarrassment—the embarrassment of riches—in selecting from our library one among the hundreds of publications available, to represent the Congregational life of that century. John Robinson stands out most clearly against the background of the exiles in Holland; but his story has been told so often, so lately, and so well, that it seems wise to present a name equally worthy but less popularly familiar, that of Henry Ainsworth.

Both Robinson and Ainsworth were eminent theological scholars; Robinson more famous in the doctrinal department, Ainsworth in the Biblical. Both were pastors of exiled English churches; Robinson in Leyden, Ainsworth (first teacher, then pastor) in Amsterdam. Both were warm friends for life, and supported each other in the front rank of the ceaseless ecclesiastical controversies of their day, wherein also each is distinguished above most of his fellow-disputants by fairness towards opponents and urbanity of manner. Governor Bradford, who knew both in Holland, bears this witness: (*Dialogue,* in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," page 448) "Mr. Henry Ainsworth, a man of a thousand, was teacher of this church at Amsterdam. We have heard some, eminent in the knowledge of the tongues, of the University of Leyden, say that they thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the University, nor scarce in Europe." It was this, doubtless, that originated the soubriquet sometimes given to him, "Rabbi of the Age." In line with this testimony of Bradford, take the following from Roger Williams: "That much honored Mr. Ainsworth had scarce his Peere amongst a thousand Academicians for the Scripture Originalls" (*Bloudy Tenent,*

THE BOOK OF PSALMES

Engliſhed both in Proſe and Metre.

With Annotations, opening the words and ſentences, by conference with other ſcriptures.

By *H. A.*

Ephe. 5.18.19.

Be ye filled with the Spirit: ſpeaking to your ſelves in Pſalms, and hymnes, and ſpiritual Songs: ſinging & making melodie in your hart to the Lord.

Imprinted at Amſterdam,
By Giles Thorp.
Ao. Di. 1612.

Underhill's ed., p. 265. Underhill himself calls Ainsworth "the most eminent of the Brownists.")

Our library contains his commentaries on the five books of Moses, on the Psalms, and the Song of Songs, besides a number of his controversial works. The authors of the English Revised Version of the Old Testament (1885) found these commentaries a valuable help in their work, as Dr. Dexter states in a note on page 342 of his "Congregationalism as seen in its literature." Another quotation from Dr. Dexter relating to Ainsworth may be in place here (p. 345f.):

"His great claim to be held in perpetual and loving remembrance by God's people lies in the fact that leaving old fancies and the conceits which ages had favored, he boldly laid down the fundamental principle that the Bible means what it says, and that what it says is to be determined by those simple laws of interpretation which apply to any other book—by getting, first of all, at the exact meaning of its Hebrew and Greek words, through the study of their etymological sense, and the careful noting of their use in Rabbinic and other writings, and above all by the comparison of Scripture with Scripture. Thus he pointed toward, and prepared the way for, that new school of sacred interpretation which has done so much to open the Scriptures, sealed by the fathers and the schoolmen, to the knowledge of the people. Of the score and more of volumes which he left behind him, his *Annotations* will be likely to live, in themselves and their suggestive influence, long after all else which he wrote, and all which others with whom he contended wrote, shall have passed beyond the remembrance of any but the most diligent and inveterate antiquary."

However one may regard this judgment of relative values, an added value attaches to the Annotations on the *Psalms,* from the fact that they were largely incorporated into the "Ainsworth Psalter," the hymn-book of the Pilgrims for eighty years. Its first edition (1612) is so rare that only six copies—all in New England—are accessible in the public libraries of America, a few others being in private hands. Longfellow brought the book into romance when he pictured

it on the lap of the Puritan maiden Priscilla. The title-page of our own copy is photographed herewith.

The volume contains a new translation of each of the Psalms, together with a metrical version, a hymn-tune which it is planned to fit, and the aforesaid annotations.

A very thorough monograph on the book has just been published by a most competent authority, Professor Waldo S. Pratt, of Hartford Theological Seminary ("The Music of the Pilgrims." Boston, 1921). As nothing needs to be added to his work on the musical side, we subjoin Ainsworth's translation of the familiar passage, Ps. 19: 1–4, with his comments on those verses (original spelling retained). This will illustrate the Biblical instruction given to the Mullineses* and other Pilgrim families.

Psalm 19.

1. *To the mayster of the musik; a Psalm of David.*

2. *THe heavens, doo tel the glory of God: and the out-spred-firmament sheweth, the work of his hands.*

3. *Day unto day, uttereth speech: & night unto night, manifesteth knowledge.*

4. *No speech and no words: not heard is their voice.*

Annotations.

Vs. 2. *the out-spred-firmament*] *the whole cope of heaven,* with the aier: which though it be soft and liquid, and spred over the earth, yet is it fast and firm: and therfore caled of us, according to the cōmon Greek version, *a firmament:* the holy Ghost expresseth it by an other term, *Mid-heaven: Rev.* 8. 13 & 14. 6. & 19. 17. This *Out-spred-firmament* or *expansion,* God made amidds the waters for a separation, and named it *Heavens, Gen.* 1. 6, 8. which of David is sayd, to be *stretched out as a courtayn,* or *tent. Psal.* 104. 2. and elswhere is sayd to be *firm, as molten glass. Job.* 37. 18. So under this name *Firmament,* be comprised the orbs of the heavens, and the aier, and the whole spacious roumth above the earth.

* Bradford's MS. spells thus.

V. 3. *Day unto day*] one day unto and after another. *Vttereth*] or *welleth out;* as a fountayn, continually and plenteously. *manifesteth*] or *sheweth-livelie.*

V. 4. *not, heard is their voyce*] that is, *whose voice is not heard,* or *understood;* meaning that they are no mute or obscure speeches, wherby the heavens preach to the world, but manifest to all, as the next verse sheweth, and Paul plainly confirmeth, *Rom.* 1. 19, 20. and the Greek versiō here leadeth us to understand this sentence, togither with the Apostles allegation *Rom.* 10. 18. and the like Hebraismes are usual, as *Job.* 3. 3. *Let the day perish, I was born in it,* that is, *wherein I was born:* & *hearing* is often put for *understanding, Gen.* 11. 7. *2 King.* 18. 26. Compare also herewith that Hebrue phrase in *Ier.* 38. 5. Or wee may read it thus: There is *no speech, nor words: not, heard is their voice:* that is, the heavens make *no speech,* or sermon, *nor* utter any reanable* *words:* no *nor any voice* (or *sound*) *at all of theirs is heard;* but *their line is gone forth,* &c. Or, (taking *words* for *peoples that speak them*) there is *no speech nor words* where *the voice of the heavens is not heard.*

The marked contrast between this simple exposition and the fancies of Nicholas d'Lyra bears out Dr. Dexter's commendation of Ainsworth.

*Probably a misprint for *reasonable*, or *readable*.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE period which closed the seventeenth and opened the eighteenth century was a critical time in the history of New England Congregationalism. There was real danger that the precious inheritance of democracy in the church which had come down from the Pilgrim Fathers —the doctrine of all for each and each for all—might be guarded so carelessly as to go by default. Centralization was the tendency of the day; all roads led to Boston. Even in political affairs, the Plymouth Colony lost its independence in 1692, becoming united with Massachusetts Bay, if we should not rather say absorbed in it. In religious controversies, the influence of the Boston ministers was growing more and more dominant, sometimes arrogant. They were forgetting the original and true meaning of the word *minister,* and the fact that all their power was derived from the people and held in trust for them. Matters finally came to such a pass that in November, 1705, a series of Proposals, emanating from nine of the clergy, was sent throughout the provinces of New England. These proposals aimed to secure, among other objects, a permanent Board of Standing Councils, to "consult, advise, and determine all affairs that shall be proper matter for the consideration of an ecclesiastical council within their respective limits." Ordinarily, the results of these councils were to be final, and so the churches were to lose their initiative and their freedom. Another Robert Browne was needed, to deal with this aristocratic project as it deserved, and in due time he came forth.

John Wise, pastor of that part of Ipswich which is now Essex, deserves to be remembered, for his services to both Church and State, much more widely than he has been; in fact,

that the true Natural Liberty of Man, ſuch as really and truely agrees to him, muſt be underſtood, as he is Guided and Reſtrained by the Tyes of Reaſon, and Laws of Nature; all the reſt is Brutal, if not worſe.

2. Mans External Perſonal, Natural Liberty, Antecedent to all Humane parts, or Alliances muſt alſo be conſidered. And ſo every Man muſt be conceived to be perfectly in his own Power and diſpoſal, and not to be controuled by the Authority of any other. And thus every Man, muſt be acknowledged equal to every Man, ſince all Subjection and all Command are equally baniſhed on both ſides; and conſidering all Men thus at Liberty, every Man has a Prerogative to Judge for himſelf, *viz.* What ſhall be moſt for his Behoof, Happineſs and Well-being.

3. The Third Capital Immunity belonging to Mans Nature, is an equality amongſt Men; Which is not to be denyed by the Law of Nature, till Man has Reſigned himſelf with all his Rights for the ſake of a Civil State; and then his Perſonal Liberty and Equality is to be cheriſhed, and preſerved to the higheſt degree, as will conſiſt with all juſt diſtinctions amongſt Men of Honour, and ſhall be agreeable with the publick Good. For Man has a high valuation of himſelf, and the paſſion ſeems to lay its firſt foundation [not in Pride, but] really in the high and admirable Frame and Conſtitution of Humane

he deserves to be remembered enthusiastically by every liberty-loving American. An impartial historian, Professor Moses Coit Tyler, calls him "the most powerful and brilliant prose-writer produced in this country during the colonial time." "No other is the equal of John Wise in the union of great breadth and power of thought with great splendor of style; and he stands almost alone among our early writers for the blending of a racy humor with impassioned earnestness." (History of American Literature, vol. 2, pp. 104, 114.)

He was massive in physical frame and strength as well as in intellect. On Sir William Phipps's expedition to Canada, in 1690, he served as Chaplain, "distinguishing himself in the campaign by feats of heroism, endurance, and military skill, as well as by fidelity in preaching and praying." In 1687, Sir Edmund Andros, in defiance of the sacred rights of Englishmen, ordered a tax throughout the towns of the province, in support of his despotic rule. Many submitted, but Mr. Wise called a number of his fellow-citizens together and counseled resistance. For this act he was arrested, jailed for three weeks, fined fifty pounds, put under bonds of a thousand pounds, and suspended from the ministry. But during the next year, Andros was expelled and the pastor was reinstated. His comments on the proceedings against him were as follows, "The evidence in the case, as to the substance of it, was that we too boldly endeavoured to persuade ourselves we were Englishmen, and under privileges."

It is not strange that he was ready to antagonize with all his force the overbearing "Proposals" of the Boston ministers. In 1710, he sent a bomb-shell into their camp which wrecked it beyond recovery. The little book was called "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused." In satirical vein, he summons the proposals one after another into court, arraigns them, overwhelms them with unanswerable arguments, and then proceeds:

"I petition for the Crown that justice be done in this following

manner, not by banishment, premunire, or perpetual imprisonment; but that the proposals be sentenced to die the death of heretics, and their ashes be exposed to the four winds; that the whole scheme may, beyond all hope of retrieve, be lost in oblivion. And let the churches, according to their platform, recover and maintain their authority, liberties, and lustre, so long as the sun and moon shall continue."

Having given the *coup de grace* to this special form of usurpation, Mr. Wise determined, a few years later, to discuss in sober and thorough fashion the whole subject of Congregational government, as it had been handed down from the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers. In 1717 he published this "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches." He gives due credit to various predecessors; but what is new and striking is his argument from the laws of nature and the rights of man. Moreover, he carries out, more fully than had been done before, the analogy between political and religious democracy. It is easy to see why, in 1772, when the colonies were seething with revolt against Britain, a new edition combining the "Vindication" with the "Churches' Quarrel" was called for and issued. The principles of those books needed only translation into practice to change the course of empire, and to justify separation from the mother country, even as the Pilgrims justified separation from the mother church.

The list of subscribers to the reprint contains the names of not a few well-known Revolutionary patriots. Many a New Englander, though he drew back from the free-thinking French philosophers of that day, who carried liberty to the extreme of irreligious license, would lend a ready ear to this prophet of God. One may hear in anticipation the voice of the "Sons of Liberty" in the words which we have reproduced from the original edition of 1717.

Equally bold and strong is the argument for the democratic polity in the church (*Vindication,* pp. 66, 67):

"What! Is Man become so unfortunate, degraded and debased,

as to be without all power in settling a government over himself relating to the matters of his eternal well-being? Or when he comes back to a Father's house, must he fall into the capacity of a mere passive being, and be put under such tutors as can easily turn tyrants over him, and no relief left for him in his own hands? this is certainly most repugnant to the light of nature, and very disagreeable with the liberty and free genius of a Gospel State. Nay, in a word, If the government of the churches be settled by God, either in the hands of a church monarch or aristocracy, and the People are no ways the subject of church-power: nay if they are not, under Christ, the fountain of power; then the Reformation, so called, is but a mere cheat, a schism and notorious rebellion; neither is there room left for the least palliation or shadow of excuse for the Reformers in renouncing their obedience to their public governors. And the martyrologies, which pretend to immortalize the fame of eminent heroes, must be changed into chronicles, handing along an account of the just and deserved fate of a crew of rebels against God and government. For what business had such a company of illiterate and crack-brained fellows to meddle with their rulers or examine into their administrations? For if they have no right of power in government, they stand absolutely bound to yield a passive obedience and non-resistance; and if they are so hardy and daring as to oppose their lawful rulers, the sharpest penalty in this world is too easy for them; the Inquisition is but dallying and playing with them; Hell is their desert."

The spirit of John Wise was incarnate in Professor Park, of Andover, when he delivered his great address, "Duties of the New England Clergy," before the Pastoral Association of 1844. He sounded the tocsin against a fresh attempt to put the New England churches under prelatical power. May the same spirit "clothe itself with Gideon" if similar perils should threaten again, however insidiously, to undermine the goodly foundations laid by our fathers!

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ON the twenty-second day of December, 1820, Daniel Webster delivered in Plymouth his famous oration celebrating the bicentenary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. That address is so familiar, from its opening sentence, "Let us rejoice that we behold this day," to its closing paragraph, which thousands of schoolboys have declaimed ("Advance, then, ye future generations," etc.), that it needs to be mentioned only by way of pretermission.

But it is not so well known that on that same day, in many another community in and out of New England, other orators were addressing eager and attentive throngs on the same theme. The Congregational Library has no less than a dozen of these printed discourses, one, for example, by Noah Porter in Farmington, and one by Abiel Holmes (father of Oliver Wendell) in Cambridge. Among them, one of the most interesting, though it is almost forgotten today, was given in Pittsfield by Heman Humphrey, then pastor of the Congregational Church there, but soon afterwards President of Amherst College, whose recent centennial celebration has freshened his fame. After twenty-two years of distinguished service at Amherst, he returned to Pittsfield, and spent the residue of a long life among his beloved people.

It would be hard to find, in the early half of the nineteenth century, a more typical example of the Pilgrim spirit than Dr. Humphrey furnishes, in his well-balanced character, practical wisdom, intellectual strength, dauntless energy, and wide-reaching usefulness. This high praise is not given at random. He found the Pittsfield church weakened by factional divisions, and left it one of the strong churches of the state. He found Amherst College a college only in name, and he fought with

The character and sufferings of the Pilgrims.

A

SERMON,

DELIVERED AT PITTSFIELD, (Mass.)

December 22, 1820;

BEING JUST TWO CENTURIES FROM THE LANDING OF THE

PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

BY HEMAN HUMPHREY,
PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN PITTSFIELD.

PITTSFIELD:
PRINTED BY PHINEHAS ALLEN.....1821.

determined energy, year after year, in the attempt to wring from a hostile legislature a charter for the college; an attempt crowned at last with success. He found her with but few students; he presided over the remarkable growth which made her in 1836 the second college in New England, excelled in numbers only by Yale. All this while, he was impressing the solid virtues of the Pilgrim character upon the Pittsfield community, or upon the twenty-five college classes that came under his influence. Four hundred and thirty of those whom he instructed at Amherst became ministers of the gospel, thirty-nine of them foreign missionaries.

With the pen as well as the voice he was a faithful laborer. The Congregational Library contains more than forty books and pamphlets that he published, and there were several others. As to the quality of this output, the reader may judge by two specimens, to which we prefix a word of testimony from Professor William S. Tyler's "History of Amherst College" (p. 287): "His occasional discourses rose with the occasion, often to the highest pitch of argumentative and impassioned eloquence. His style, robust, manly, and bold, was chiefly marked by its fitness and transparent clearness. His well-chosen words and compact sentences cut like a Damascus blade."

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, a National Fast was appointed for the fourth day of January, 1861. Dr. Humphrey, then almost eighty-three years of age, surprised all by the vigor and power of his sermon at Pittsfield on that day. A few extracts follow:

"What are the startling tidings that come, momentarily flashing along the wires, from our southern border? Like Job's messengers, while one is yet speaking, another cometh with newer news and still more startling. One of the original States of the Union has already broken violently away, and several others are preparing madly to follow. The tidings have crossed the ocean. The despotisms of the Old World have been prophesying, ever since our republican government was established, that it could not stand, and now they are singing pæans over

what they count the fulfilment of their predictions, in its impending downfall. . . . What is the immediate cause of the treasonable outbreak, which now convulses the Union from one end to the other, and which aims at nothing less than the overthrow of the Federal Government? I hazard nothing in saying that *negro slavery* is at the bottom of it, whatever other causes have helped to develop it. It is the growth and despotism of slavery which has brought us to the verge of a bloody revolution. . . . My soul is sick! But, O Lord, are thy mercies clean gone forever? I turn from the dark side of the picture to look back again upon all the way in which God has led us hitherto. I see the *Mayflower* sounding her laborious way, two hundred and forty years ago, into Plymouth harbor. I see her spars loaded with ice on a savage and unknown coast. I see the worn-out pilgrims for conscience sake, landing and looking round mournfully upon naught but the wintry desolation. I see them digging the frozen ground and burying half their little starved band before spring. But the Lord of hosts was with them, the God of Jacob was their refuge. Other companies of pilgrims, of like precious faith, arrived in due time. A united band of brothers, they planted the Gospel, and laid the corner-stone of our free government in their first clearings. But they could not long be hemmed in by the unbroken wilderness of thousands of miles beyond their setting sun. They took up their line of march westward, as fast as other emigrants arrived and joined their ranks. They felled the forests as they advanced. They planted churches and schools in the midst of blackened stumps and log cabins. On they went. They passed over the rivers, they climbed the mountains with their scaling ladders. God was with them. They poured down the slopes of the Rocky Mountains; and now they have free, independent states, looking out upon China and Japan. Yes, my friends and neighbors, we may and should praise God for what He has done for us as a nation. . . . I seem to behold a mighty angel, standing on the highest crest of our mountains, with the gospel trumpet in his hand, and looking eastward and westward and northward and southward, and sounding out those glad tidings of great joy to all people:—'The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and He shall reign forever and ever.'"

The transition to the Forefathers' Day address is now easy:

"The forefathers were men of no ordinary stamp. Some of them were endowed with great natural abilities and had received their education in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and the greater

part of them were men of good sense and ardent piety. If we are now the freest and happiest people in the world, we owe this enviable distinction, more to the laws which they enacted, to the institutions which they bequeathed, and to the prayers which they offered up, than to all other human means put together. The three grand pillars on which our free and excellent government rests are religion, education, and public morals; and these pillars were set up, like those on the banks of Jordan, as soon as the pilgrims had passed over the great waters. We are built up upon the foundations which our fathers laid. They are not the work of our puny hands. Those laws which, under God, are the glory and bulwarks of our land, are little more than transcripts from the statute books of the seventeenth century. The fabric which was reared by puritan hands may be likened to some venerable Gothic pile, which the skill and caprice of later ages have been employed to adorn; but which is indebted to them for none of its noble pillars, mighty arches and massy strength. It still reposes upon its own deep foundations, and has lost at least as much in simplicity and majesty as it has gained in taste and elegance. We inherit the lands which our fathers cleared, send our sons to the colleges which they founded, live under the laws which they enacted, and enjoy the liberties which they achieved. Let us this day take an inventory of our paternal inheritance and think what God has done for this people in two centuries. . . . Let us stir up one another to holy thanksgiving for the copious effusions of divine grace upon this our goodly heritage; and let us pray for the spiritual exaltation of the Psalmist, while we lift up our voices to heaven in his own inimitable language: 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.' "

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

IT is sad but true that the book whose title-page appears here—decidedly the most important book on Congregational history published thus far in the present century—has been for several years completely out of print.

As no biography of either of the Dexters has been published, a few words on their life story may be in place here. There is a marked parallelism between the two men in the outward events of their life. Both were born, lived and died in New England, each bearing the name Henry M. Dexter, though to avoid confusion the son dropped his first name in middle life. Both graduated at Yale College and Andover Theological Seminary. Both were pastors of Congregational churches and editors of *The Congregationalist.* Both were authors of books and of a vast number of book reviews and other contributions to periodicals. Both were Directors of the American Congregational Association, and members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of other distinguished fellowships. Both gave all the time they could spare from other duties to the work of tracing out with ardor the obscure roots of early Congregationalism. For this purpose, both not only levied on all American sources, but made frequent visits to the great libraries of England and Holland. Each died in his seventh decade, the father in 1890, the son in 1910. The latter occupied himself after 1890 in perfecting and completing this book; and from 1901, when he was released from editorial work on *The Congregationalist,* he gave his full strength to that filial labor, having the valuable coöperation of his cousin, Professor Franklin B. Dexter, the well-known historiographer of Yale, whose death occurred in 1920.

It should be added that the lion's share in the authorship of the work before us belongs to Dr. Henry M. Dexter, though

THE ENGLAND AND HOLLAND OF THE PILGRIMS

BY THE LATE

HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D. D., LL. D.

AND HIS SON

MORTON DEXTER

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1905

his manuscript, being left in a rough draft, was wholly rewritten by the son. The father, in the prime of his powers, had delivered the Southworth lectures on Congregationalism in Andover Seminary during three successive years (1877–1879) and had published them in 1880 in a massive volume called "The Congregationalism of the last three hundred years as seen in its literature." That book included, besides the lectures, an exhaustive bibliography extending to 7,250 numbers and covering the years 1546 to 1879. Dr. Dexter's private copy of this volume, enriched by hundreds of marginal additions, was presented to the Congregational Library; but the bulk of his unrivaled collection of books and manuscripts he gave to Yale University. We cannot wonder at this, for at the time of his death our library had not acquired its fireproof stack, and the exposure of his treasures to the risk of conflagration was not to be thought of. But during the intervening twenty-one years, the Congregational Library has made great progress on similar lines, and the same is true of Harvard University Library and some others. Future investigators will be glad of more than one or two depositories of this rare literature.

To some degree, "The England and Holland of the Pilgrims" traverses by way of supplement the subjects of "Congregationalism as seen in its literature," but much of it is new. The life of the Pilgrims at Scrooby is pictured with great fullness, special attention being paid to all that can be learned about William Brewster, the "chief of the Pilgrims." Many strands are traced which connect the life of our forefathers with the life of the great world, not only in England but also in Amsterdam and Leyden. A considerable part of the section on Leyden was furnished by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, whose careful scholarship is everywhere apparent.

We conclude with an extract relating to Brewster at Scrooby (pp. 328, 327), and with the closing paragraphs of the book (pp. 594, 595):

"When the first hour of the seventeenth century struck, William Brewster was thirty-five; a young husband and father; an officer of the queen; residing at Scrooby in the manor-house of an archbishop; having some university culture from Cambridge, enlarged by an experience of certain work at the royal Court, and broadened by an observation which had reached into the Tower as well as extended beyond the narrow seas; refined by some acquaintance with many good and great men; recognized as religious and influential, and the subject of profound spiritual convictions which gradually were deepening towards the absorption of all the great aims of life.

Brewster from the beginning of his adult residence at Scrooby enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the neighborhood and particularly of the more cultivated and religious people. He was recognized as distinctly on the side of good order and piety; in other words, he was a Puritan. He was active in endeavoring to have the gospel preached there. He bore even more than his fair share of the cost of such endeavors. He continued this for many years in substantially his old relations; that is, as a member of the State Church. Some special development of religious tyranny and the steadily increasing hopelessness of any improvement within the Church at last drove him, and others like him, on to Separation."

"Like Browne, the re-discoverer of substantial Congregationalism, Robinson—who although not precisely a modern Congregationalist, did more than any one else excepting Browne to prepare the way for its later development—seems to have failed to find in its workings, as he knew them, something which he expected. The time was not ripe for it. The best conditions with which he had to deal were unfavorable. In order to get rid of the traditions and beliefs which hindered its growth into a self-consistent and efficient form of church life, as in the early years of the Christian era, experiment with it in the free atmosphere of a new country and an unformed political State had become necessary. Neither Browne nor Robinson was able to share in making that experiment, but each contributed much which helped the experiment, when made, to succeed.

In the Plymouth Colony, and, later, in that of Massachusetts Bay, the free church system flourished. It had a large part in shaping the thought and life of the colonists. It tinctured their political ideas and aided powerfully in preparing the way for American independence, and ever since their day it has continued a potent factor for good in our

national life. In the mother country also, although hampered by many hostile conditions and not wholly free, even yet, to do its best work, it has become conspicuous and effective, and during the nineteenth century it accomplished much of what it could not bring to pass in the seventeenth.

During the intervening generations, Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, too, have freed themselves from most of their former unlovely and discreditable characteristics, and now they exhibit on each side of the Atlantic a purer and nobler spirit than ever in the past. Each of the three forms of church organization and government has been benefited by the example of the others. Each also has learned already, in larger measure than could have seemed possible to the devoutest minds of the seventeenth century, that Christianity, as taught and illustrated by Christ himself, is spiritual rather than dogmatic or ecclesiastical.

It would be a mistake, however, to regard the Pilgrim Colony in America, the outgrowth of the conditions and struggles which these pages have narrated, as merely ecclesiastical in origin or development. Primarily it was this, but also it was more than this. It was one of the earliest manifestations of that resistless impulse of expansion and conquest which asserted itself in the England of that period, and even earlier in Spain, and which changed the whole face of the globe. It opened a fresh and vitally important era in human history. It was practically the beginning* of the civilized, permanent settlement of an almost unknown continent. It prepared the way for the birth of a new and mighty nation. The world's debt to the Pilgrims is not limited by any denominational lines. It is universal. The adherents of the free-church systems fairly may claim to possess special justifications for pride in the Pilgrim history, but nobody can monopolize it. All lovers of intelligence, progress, and civil as well as religious liberty, have the right to share in it."

* "Virginia in its infancy was struggling for life, and what its fate would have been, if the fathers of it in England had not seen the rise and growth of other colonies near it, is uncertain."
Hutchinson, *History of the Colony of Mass. Bay*, i : 3.